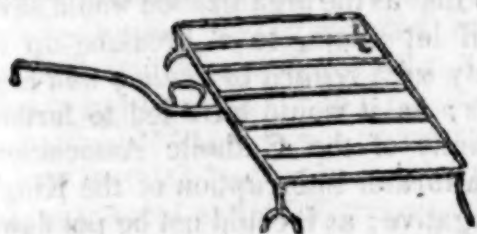


COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 67.—No. 16.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, 18TH APRIL, 1829.

[Price 7d.]



"MY DEAR SIR,—I have, received your letter of the 4th instant, and I assure you that you do me justice in believing that I am sincerely anxious to witness the settlement of the Roman Catholic Question, which, by benefitting the State, would confer a benefit on every individual belonging to it. But I confess *I see no prospect of such a settlement.* Party has been mixed up with the consideration of the question to such a degree, and such violence pervades every discussion of it, that it is impossible to expect to prevail upon men to consider it dispassionately. If we could bury it in oblivion for a short time, and employ that time diligently in the consideration of its difficulties on all sides (for they are very great), I should not despair of seeing a satisfactory remedy. Believe me, my dear Sir, ever your most faithful humble servant,
"WELLINGTON.
"London, Dec. 11."

TO DR. CURTIS.

TO THE

DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

On his Reasons for passing the Catholic Bill.

Chilworth, 13th April, 1829.

MY LORD DUKE,

THE job is now done: the half counter-reformation is accomplished: the haughty Protestant Church has, at the end of 280 years of insolent predominance and unparalleled oppressions and cruelties, got a famous blow, and has been compelled to hang her head. The thing is done; and we will, please God, now put on record the true history of the cause of it. This cannot be more conveniently done than in a commentary on the REASONS which you have given for the passing this important Bill; for the making of this half counter-reformation; for the Act by which you have humbled this haughty, persecuting Church, who has strained every nerve

and sinew to ward off the blow: a commentary on the REASONS, given in your speech in the House of Lords, on the 3d of April, for passing the Bill, for giving this body-blow, is the most convenient way of putting the transaction upon record.

It will be best first to give a sketch of your own statement of reasons. Your speech was long; a great deal of it was dull repetition of what had been before much better said a hundred times over by the newspapers; as a whole it was a mass of stuff, which, coming from a man known to have nothing to do in the distribution of the taxes, would have set the hearers a conghing, or blowing their noses. But it contained YOUR REASONS for proposing and urging on and pushing through the measure; and these reasons I will now fairly state; and when I have done that, and have prevailed on the reader patiently to consider them, I will make my commentary and my record.

Your reasons were founded solely on matters relating to Ireland. Not on justice, not on right, but merely on expediency: not on the good effects to be expected from the measure, but on the evils that it was calculated to prevent: not, in short, on any good feeling for the parties benefitted, but on the danger of withholding the benefit. Your statement of reasons was, in substance, as follows.

You told the Lords, that this question had been under discussion for upwards of thirty years; that during that time a great many able statesmen had been for the measure, but you did not observe, that you had always been against it; that of late, and particularly last summer, new appearances of discontent and revolt, arising from a want of this measure, had showed themselves; that O'CONNELL, and the CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION had caused an organization dangerous to the peace of the kingdom, and that this was evinced in the large and clamorous assemblages of the people, in the election for CLARE, in the progress

Q

of Mr. LAWLESS in the North, and in particular in the proposition by O'CONNELL and the Association to prevent Catholics from dealing with Protestants, and, of course, to cause a violation of all contracts, which measure you said, you verily believed the agitators had the power of causing to be carried into effect. You further said that this organization prevented the King from exercising his prerogative in the making of a peer, the party being a Member of the House of Commons and chosen for an Irish county, and who could not be promoted to the peerage without producing in GALWAY, another scene like that exhibited in CLARE; and that you could not advise the King to do that which would give another triumph to the Catholic Association; that besides all these reasons, the organization affected the constitution of juries, the election of churchwardens, and obstructed the course of law; that this organization (strange name to give it!) could not be put an end to without yielding the things yielded by this Bill; that is to say, without making a half counter-reformation.

In answer to those LORDS who had said, "If you found this monstrous organization, why did you not put an end to it by force, by law civil or military?" in answer to this you said, in the first place, that you could not employ force upon this organization, (wonderful organization!) seeing that it committed no acts of violence, that it did not violate the law, and that it would not have violated the law; that it was determined not to do any thing to call for the interference of powers civil or military; that it was resolved to continue to be perfectly peaceable; and that, therefore, there was no pretence for bringing force to bear upon it! Wonderful "organization"!

But, further, you told the LORDS, that even if the organization had been guilty of illegal acts or even violent acts, to have put it down would have required that which might be deemed a civil war; that it could not have been put down without civil war, and that you had so great a dislike to civil war, that you would "make any sacrifice" (these are

the very words in the reported speech) rather than see a civil war for a single day in a country to which you had an attachment.

So that as the organization would have led, if let alone, to a breaking-up of society with regard to dealing and contracts; as it would have led to further triumphs of the Catholic Association, and a further interruption of the King's prerogative; as it could not be put down without this half counter-reformation, or without a civil war; and, as any sacrifice ought to be made rather than have a day of civil war, it became a matter of necessity, of dire necessity, of necessity like that which justifies people in pulling down a man's house to prevent a fire from spreading through a town; it became a sort of life-and-death necessity to pass a law to enable Catholics to sit in Parliament, to rule in corporations, to sit on the bench, to be sheriffs and magistrates, and to fill all the great offices of the State as well as those in the army and in the navy.

This was YOUR STATEMENT OF REASONS; and the sum total of it is this, that you detested O'CONNELL and the Catholic Association; that you abhorred the organization which they had made; that you would have crushed this organization if you could; that you could not do it without civil war, or without granting that to obtain which the organization was made; and that, therefore, filled with unconquerable horror for civil war, you surrendered that which O'CONNELL and his followers had demanded.

This is THE SHORT STATEMENT OF YOUR REASONS: that is your case, as the lawyers say; and yet you and your adherents pretend that you have not acted from intimidation; pretend that the Catholic Association had not beaten you; pretend that the Act which you have passed is to be regarded as a boon; and that it has arisen from the "liberal spirit of the age," from the "waist improvement in intellect;" from the wonderful "march of mind;" seeming to forget the march of Mr. LAWLESS and his hundred thousand men; and seeming to forget what you yourselves say

when put to the pinch, and seeming also to forget the *anger* and *raucour* which you discover against those whose proceedings produced that dire necessity of which you spoke, and of which I must speak a good deal more presently.

But before I proceed to examine these reasons, and to show how childish they are, and how far they must be short of giving us the real motive of action in this case; before I do this, let me ask you what had become of your pledge; your solemn engagement to prove to the Lords, that the measure would naturally tend

"to put down Popery, and to check the growth of it for ever." We must not forget these words which were uttered in

the House of Lords, in answer to a speech of the BISHOP of BATH and WELLS.

You declined entering into a defence of the measure then, but said, that when the Bill came before the House, you engaged to prove, to the satisfaction of the House, that the Bill would have a tendency, and would in fact do the thing, namely, *put down Popery and check the growth of it for ever!* It is

curious enough, that when you came to defend the Bill before the House, you uttered not one single word upon this subject; made not the smallest attempt to fulfil your engagement to the BISHOP of BATH and WELLS; did not, on the contrary, deny that there might be danger to the Church; and so far from talking about *putting down Popery, and preventing the growth of it for ever,*

talked about the blessed effects of *conciliation and union*, and about the harmlessness of the Catholic religion! The two propositions would, indeed, have stood very amiably by the side of each other; on the left hand, there would have been the necessity of conciliating the Catholics; the necessity of giving them a share of political power; the necessity of putting them upon a level with Protestants; and, on the right hand, there would have

been a measure calculated to *put down Popery and to prevent the growth of it for ever.* We have seen strange inconsistencies of late: most monstrous chopplings backward and forward, contradictions the most palpable and the most scandalous; but we really have seen

nothing equal to this. However, this monstrous contradiction did not appear in one and the same speech: the two speeches were at three weeks' distance from each other, and at a time when the mind is marching at such very quick step, it can hardly be expected not to get into a new latitude in the space of three weeks, absolutely a new latitude, and affected by a new climate. However, we must not forget this: in estimating your reasons, we must take into account the solemn pledge given to the BISHOP of BATH and WELLS.

And now let us take a look at these reasons. Your statement contains a string of bitter accusations against O'CONNELL and his brother agitators, and against the Catholics in general; you complain of their conduct; speak of them as a set of strange conspirators, having formed a dangerous organization *hostile to the State*; you seem to lament that they did nothing to justify the use of severe municipal law, or of military law; and yet your remedy is, *conciliation!* You say that you had power tenfold sufficient to put them down; plenty of force for that purpose; and that they knew it; and that, therefore, they were so perfectly peaceable, so strictly obedient to the law, that they furnished not the smallest handle for meddling with them in a violent manner!

My LORD DUKE, if this were really the case; if the people were perfectly peaceable; if they were, as you said they were, apparently resolved *never to break the peace*; why not let them alone? Why be alarmed at their organization; why be uneasy about it; why bring Catholics into Parliament, and all the rest of it, in order to put down an organization, which was *perfectly legal*, and *perfectly peaceable*, and exposing neither individuals nor the Government to any danger whatsoever? The organization prevented the due exercise of the King's prerogative. His Majesty could not *make a Peer* (poor man!) without exposing another Irish county to scenes like those in Clare. And what harm was there in those scenes if they did not produce breaches of the peace, and if they had no tendency to produce any

thing that could possibly justify the interference of either the magistrate or the military! *What harm* would there have been in a repetition of the scenes of Clare?

My LORD DUKE, you are hemmed up in a dilemma here: you could not acknowledge that the agitators had *frightened* you: that would never have done. You could not acknowledge that you had doubts of your power to put down the combination: you could not acknowledge either of these; and therefore you were obliged to allege that the organization (queer word!) was perfectly inoffensive in the eye of the law; that it gave you no provocation to employ force either legal or military; and that in short, it was a perfectly inoffensive body in the eye of the law, and by no means dangerous to the peace of the country. What the devil did you want MORE, then? One would have thought that this was the very thing that ought to have pleased you. Here were no *ribbon men*, no *white boys*, no *peep-o'-day boys*, no *Captain Rock's men*; but a peaceable, perfectly peaceable, organization, from whom you expected not the smallest resistance to the law; and whom you looked upon as being resolved not to be goaded into any such resistance! What the devil, again do I say, did you want MORE, then? Why should you give up the Parliament, the Bench, and the Council to the Catholics; why should you make a half counter-reformation for the sole purpose of getting rid of an organization, so harmless in itself, and so far from threatening the state with any harm or any trouble? This reason, therefore; this reason founded upon the extent and the peaceable disposition of the organization, is certainly the most contemptible, the most childish, that ever was put forward as the ground of action of any individual, or of any government especially. You show that you detest the organization; you show that you hate it, and hate those who had made it; you speak of the whole as *hostile to the Government*; and yet though you represent them as having no power that you could not have crushed in a moment; though you express your abhorrence of them;

though you hold them up to our detestation; though you paint them as enemies of the state; though you say that you know, and they knew it too, that you could have crushed them in a moment; though you tell us all this; you come and defend a Bill which grants them all that they wanted, and all that they had been refused for so many years, and you justify this Bill, upon the *absolute necessity of it* to put an end to this organization!

Seeing you in possession of that; seeing you the author of *all that*; seeing you with that speech in your mouth, I (for there is a great difference in tastes) do not envy you all you possess in this world. But the truth is not told: the plain reason is not stated. You tell us, or rather you told the House, that, even if it came to civil war; even if the wonderful organization had given provocation to employ the bullet or the bayonet upon it; even in that case; even if the parties had said: "We will sit in Parliament, we will be privy councillors, we will be judges, we will have a counter-reformation, we will not be degraded slaves any longer, we will not suffer this upstart Church to degrade and punish us for adhering to the faith of our forefathers, we will have our claims or we will *fight for it!*" Your statement amounted to a declaration, that, if the organization had said even this, it was your duty to yield to it rather than venture upon a civil war. I appeal to the speech: I appeal to the fair construction of the words, that you would make *any sacrifice* rather than have a *civil war for a single day*. Well, then, there is no bounds; every thing must be yielded that an organization shall be pleased to demand. Please to observe, that I, for my part, am *very glad that you have yielded*; I am very glad that you have been compelled to yield; I am very glad that the dire necessity existed: I am very glad that CRANMER's and Old Bess's Church has got the blow; and you are manifestly very sorry for it. Very sorry for the necessity which compels you to give the blow; for, in this speech you discover your chagrin; you discover your anger against the

agitators and the agitated; and in the Bill itself, an abundance of spite is discoverable against the Catholic faith, and the Catholic body generally; and by-the-by, in this very Bill are sowed the prolific seeds of new organizations and of new demands; of new dire necessities and of new conciliations.

I, for my part, am very glad of the existence of this imperious necessity; I am very glad that you are compelled to give way; but if you were thus compelled for reasons such as you have given; if it be right, if it be sound policy; if it be a state maxim that *any sacrifice* is to be made, rather than have a civil war for a single day; or, if you like, for a year or two; if it be determined that Governments ought to yield on *any* conditions rather than enter on civil war, do you expect never to hear of *another organization*? If you do, you are the most deceived of all mankind; and, indeed, if this maxim be adhered to, there must be an end to all government at once. If this new maxim of yours be a sound one, what a horribly wicked Government this has been; seeing that for a century last past it has had on its hands, in ENGLAND, in SCOTLAND, in INDIA, in NORTH AMERICA, in the WEST INDIES, and, oh God! in IRELAND, civil wars during, I believe, more than two-thirds of the whole of that time! Oh, no! this is strange doctrine, indeed! If a Government say to a people, I will make *any sacrifice* rather than have civil war, where are the foolish people that will pay a tax, or submit to any law whatsoever. When CANNING told you to announce to the Congress at VERONA, that let what would happen, "ENGLAND WAS RESOLVED TO HAVE PEACE FOR HERSELF," the French, of course, instantly resolved to march into Spain. If England were resolved to have peace for herself, *let what would happen*, let other powers act as they might; if England were resolved to have peace for herself in such a case, France had only to do as she liked; and, accordingly, she marched into Spain. Notwithstanding your friendly advice, notwithstanding the prophecies of the stern-path-

man, and notwithstanding the pious prayers of the flabber-gaster CANNING. If England were resolved to have *peace for herself*, she was, of course, resolved *not to go to war*; and as France cared nothing about her *opinions* and her *prayers*, any more than O'CONNELL and his Association cared about the opinions or the prayers of the *Law-Church*, France did what she intended to do, provided she had not to encounter the hostility of England.

Precisely thus is it in the present case. You were resolved to have peace for yourself; you were resolved to have no civil war, and, therefore, the organization, which you could not possibly put down without civil war, marched (after the manner of the French) not into any country, indeed, but into those seats, benches, and honours, which they had been kept out of for nearly three hundred years. For, and I do hope that this will be clearly understood, and borne in mind by every man in the kingdom, and that it will never be forgotten; that this measure would never have been thought of; that it never would have so much as entered into your mind; that you would have thought it madness in any one of your colleagues to talk of such a thing, *had it not been for the Catholic organization in Ireland!* And as to you and PEEL, who had become favorites with the great, chiefly on account of your declared hostility to this measure, every man of sense will declare, that it is impossible that you could have changed your minds in consequence of any thing but the *terrors* excited by the *organization* in Ireland. Every man of sense and of candour will say this; and yet you come and tell us, that there was not the smallest danger in the world, that this organization would have led to rebellion, or even to a breach of the peace. But if it had so led, you tell us that you had a force sufficient instantly to put it down; and that the organization knew that you possessed such force; but that though you had the force, you would not employ it in civil war, rather than resort to which you would make *any sacrifice*, and particularly the sacrifice which has now been made.

Oh, no! The true reason is not given. There has been no speaking out upon the nature of that *imperious necessity*, of which so many have talked. The imperious necessity has been put forward on many occasions during these voluminous debates: many a PEER and many a COMMONER has stood up and said, or words to the effect: "I have always been opposed to measures of this sort: I have always deemed them to be full of danger to the Church and the State; my principles and opinions remain exactly the same; but I believe that an imperious necessity exists for yielding at this time, and, therefore, I shall vote for the measure." More than fifty of the members of both Houses, taken together, have made use of words to this effect. The wise-acre in SOMERSETSHIRE said all this, and said that having *confidence in PEEL*, and PEEL having said that the measure *was imperiously necessary*, he, though he remained firm in all his former opinions, should give way and vote for the measure! Now, it is very certain that any Government, not really crack-brained, not having a madman or a fool at the head of it, will give way when imperious necessity demands; but what a strange sort of necessity it must be, which is occasioned by an organization that has not been guilty of the smallest breach of the peace; that does not threaten a breach of the peace; and what is more, that could, if it were to be guilty of a breach of the peace, be extinguished in a moment! What a strange imperious necessity it must be to arise from such an organization! Oh no, my LORD DUKE, you do not tell us the secret; you do not let us into your real motive; but we gather that motive from the history of the whole transaction, and, indeed, it does pretty plainly peep out in this very speech upon which I am here commenting.

No man of any sense can refrain from laughing at the idea of making *any sacrifice* rather than run the risk of civil war. That really is nonsense; and therefore, we have to ask what the Government had to *apprehend*; and why did it make the prodigious sacrifice that it has made, and which you are manifestly sorry that

it has been compelled to make. The organization was resolved, you say, not to break the peace. And as to an election for GALWAY giving a *new triumph* to the Catholic Association, what harm could there have been in the triumph, seeing that it could not have put a Catholic member into Parliament, and seeing therefore, that like the other election, it must have ended in empty noise; but, shocking indeed would it have been, if Catholics had been put into Parliament, on the Bench, and in the Council, from the pitiful motive of preventing this triumph. There was then a *motive different from all these*; and that motive has, as I observed before, peeped out pretty broadly in this speech. One of the reasons which you give for yielding to the Catholics is, that O'CONNELL and his Association had declared their intention to prevent "Catholics from dealing with Protestants, and of course to cause a violation of all contracts"; and you said, that you "verily believed the agitators to have had the power of causing this threat to be carried into effect." Now, though you do not mention another declaration of O'CONNELL made in the Association at about the same time; namely, that a *stoppage ought to be put to the circulation of the notes of the Bank of Ireland*; though you do not actually mention this, no one can believe that this was not deemed of full as much consequence as the threat about the dealings with Protestants! Indeed to take and circulate a bank-note is to deal with the Protestant Bank of DUBLIN; but there was no disguise about the matter; there was nothing left to inference. O'CONNELL said plainly that he would recommend a cessation of all dealings with the Protestant Bank. Now, when was this said; when were these threats thrown out; look at the proceedings of the Catholic Association in Dublin, and you will see, that neither of them was thrown out; that neither of them became a subject of discussion, or of notice in newspapers, until after the appearance of your letter to DOCTOR CURTIS! After this it was that these terrific threats were thrown out; and, therefore, I believe, and every man of

sense with whom I am acquainted believes; nineteen twentieths of the well-informed people believe, that you changed your mind and resolved upon the measure, the moment these threats became subject of serious discussion in the Catholic Association of Dublin. Nothing can be clearer than this. Every one must believe, that you, when you wrote your letter to Dr. CURTIS, had no intention, even the most distant, of bringing forward the measure of Catholic Relief, as it is called. Every one must believe, that nothing new took place to alter your mind *except these threats!* CLARE was still what it was before: the agitators were going on just as they were going on before you wrote your letter to Dr. CURTIS; but the moment you had written that letter came on the propositions and discussions about exclusive dealings, and about bank-notes; and this it was that frightened you: I have inserted your letter to Dr. CURTIS by way of motto to this Register. Let any man look at that, written to the Doctor, to the Lord Primate of Ireland, observe, the *real* Lord Primate of Ireland, the Catholic Lord Primate, the Catholic Archbishop of ARMAGH, which I acknowledge him to be, in spite of the Bill; let any man look at that Letter, let him consider that it was dated on the 11th of December; let him bear in mind that nothing new happens after the writing of that letter except the threats about dealings and bank-notes; then let him see, that out you come on the fifth of February, smack with the emancipation speech, with a resolution to adopt the very measure, which you had said, only fifty-five days before, it was impossible to think of at present; let any man thus read, and thus reflect, and idiot or mad must he be, or tax-eater till the food comes up into his mouth, unless he conclude that the Bill, which you have recently brought in, and which will make more than half a counter-reformation, is to be ascribed to your fears of the consequence of the threats relative to the dealings, and to the bank-notes, and particularly relative to the latter.

I do not say, nor do I believe, that you, or that the Bank Directors, expect-

ed any very great and decided effect from exclusive dealings and runs upon the Bank which might have been occasioned by O'CONNELL and his Association. You say with regard to the exclusive dealings and violations of contracts, that you verily believe that the agitators *had the power to cause them to be carried into effect.* Well, but this was not absolute destruction: these exclusive dealings and breaches of contract would not overset the Government in a twinkling. Besides, the lawyers in Ireland must have become barren indeed in invention, if they could not have tormented these exclusive dealers, and have terrified others from the practice. And after all, was not there the *army* to break up, to disperse, to extinguish the organization; was there not a law to transport men without judge or jury for being out of their houses between sunset and sunrise for fifteen minutes at a time? What was there to fear, then, from these exclusive dealers and violators of contracts? Such proceedings might have been put an end to in a twinkling, in a moment, merely by "*applying*," as your brother used to call it, the sunset and sunrise Act to any county, district, or province. Merely by *applying* this plaster, the evil might have been cured at any time, in any part of the country. "Yes, yes," you will say, "but there would have been rebellion; there must have been *civil war* at last; this must have been the upshot; and I would make *any sacrifice* rather than have civil war, though for ever so short a space of time."

Well now, *why*, my LORD DUKE? Why have such a monstrous dislike to a little civil war, and especially since you appear highly to approve of the *affair of Manchester in the year 1819*. That affair lasted but a few hours, and there were five hundred men, women, and children killed or wounded. You say that they were met for an *unlawful purpose*. It is notorious that that purpose was for the obtaining of a Parliamentary Reform; the obtaining of their rights; and the organization in Ireland notoriously had just the same object in view; that is to say, the obtaining of their rights. If, then, the assemblage at Man-



chester were illegal, those of the organization of Ireland must have been illegal; and yet you say, that the Magistrates could not interfere in Ireland, because the organization did nothing illegal. This is strange work, and must drive us about and make us hunt up an explanation, other than any that we have hitherto obtained.

I repeat that you feared a rebellion and civil war, not because to put down insurrection by civil war must be ruinous *in itself*; not because to cut down those who are denominated rebels is a thing naturally disliked by Governments; for, on the contrary, it is an universal maxim that a Government gains strength by an unsuccessful rebellion against it. Ah! but the case was different here: here were *two rebellions* for you to face; one in arms, perhaps, or in pitchforks, or sticks, or staves, or something which you would have crushed; but another, carried on against bank-notes, by Protestants as well as Catholics, and carried on by women as well as men, and by the friends of the Government as well as the foes of the Government, and by the *friends* of the Government more than the foes, because they are richer. Against this rebellion, which would have raged the moment the broomstick rebellion had been announced, you *had no defence*; you could not put it down; you could not crush it; it would have been as invisible, as destructive, and more swift than the most deadly pestilence. *This, I am convinced, was the ground of the imperious necessity.* I allow that the necessity was *imperious*: I do not blame you for yielding to the necessity; but I do blame you for not having frankly and publicly stated the ground of the necessity; and for having, even in this Bill itself, preserved the seeds of another organization, and of course, of another such necessity; I say, that this Bill really settles nothing; it concedes to one part of the Catholics, and takes from another part: it will entitle the Government to no thanks from any body, and will receive good hearty curses from the forty-shilling freeholders. As if for the express purpose of preventing the hatred of the Catholic ecclesiastics to-

wards the dominant Church being mitigated, the Bill does every thing that it can to offend and irritate them, and to make them active and zealous in pulling down the Church, at whose suggestion they are now insulted anew. The organization, as you call it, will doubtless be quieted for the present: we shall see, I dare say, O'CONNELL get a SOP, and his family and his dependants provided for at the public expense. Before he left England he avowed, to my certain knowledge he avowed, that he had *given up all intention of causing a run upon the Bank*: I know that he made this declaration, though the Bill about the forty-shilling freeholders had been brought in and read a second time. Therefore, it is likely that he is to have a sop, and that his family and dependants are to be provided for; and, as the Bill has been passed in consequence of *dire necessity*, as the *dire necessity* arose entirely from the organization in Ireland, and as O'CONNELL and his crew were the sole cause of this organization, a good large *sop* given to O'CONNELL will square most admirably with all the hectoring assertions *about not having been influenced by intimidation*; square most admirably with all your and PEELE's declarations, that this measure was dictated by imperious necessity, and that you, of course, *lamented* that necessity.

That another necessity will arise, full as imperious as the present, who can doubt? Do you believe that the Catholics of Ireland are going to be contented with the ascendancy of the Protestant Church, such as that ascendancy now is? Do you believe that six out of every seven persons in that country will be content to continue to pay tithes, and that too, in the most rigorous manner, and to pay burial fees into the bargain, and to pay for building parsonage houses, and for building and keeping churches in repair? Do you believe that six persons out of seven will continue to do this, towards a Church, which they not only do not belong to, but which they look upon as *heretical*, and which they consequently abhor? Do you think that they will continue to do this for any length of time, now that

they have discovered, that, by making an "*organization*," a perfectly peaceable organization; an organization that will bring neither *peelers* nor *soldiers* upon them; an organization, in short, which they can make and keep up without the smallest risk to any soul of them? Do you think, I say, that they will submit to pay as above mentioned, now that they have discovered that, by such a harmless organization as the one which we have seen, and the one which you have described, they can instantly create an imperious necessity; and that that necessity that will bring "*relief*?" For "*relief*," God knows they want from the grindings of the Protestant Church in Ireland, much more than the Duke of Norfolk stood in need of "*relief*" for the want of sitting among the Peers. It is hardly possible to form an idea of the nature of this latter "*relief*;" but from the payment of tithes, church-rates, burial fees, *bread and wine* expenses (good God for a *Catholic* to pay *these*!); from these payments, collected very frequently, as at SKIBBEREEN, by the aid of the *pistol and the carabine*; from these payments *relief* would be something solid; it would be real *relief*; and it is impossible to believe, that the Catholics of Ireland will ever desist from *organizing* until they shall have obtained this relief.

I perceive that, in the speech which you made in the Lords on the 3d of April, and on which I am offering a commentary, you pass high encomiums on the Protestant Clergy of the Church of Ireland; and insist on the safety of the Irish Church, on account of its *indissoluble connexion with the English Church*. I shall talk about this indissoluble connexion by-and-by, perhaps; at present a word or two about the *excellent character*, the *piety*, the *learning*, and the pastoral vigilance, and particularly the great benevolence and charity, of the Irish Protestant Clergy; a word or two about these. I do not wish to mention *names*, but we have, my LORD DUKE, seen *something* of an IRISH BISHOP; we have seen something of the battles of SKIBBEREEN, and other places; we have seen some other particular specimens of this excel-

lent and pious body, but we will not take the trouble to *name* them at present. I will content myself with inserting here an extract from the petition which I offered to the county of Kent; and which petition would have been passed instead of that of LORD WINCHILSEA, if it had not been for the foul conduct of the insolent sheriff. The petition, and especially this extract, has been before the public ever since the latter end of October last; it contains a string of most horrible facts relative to the Church in Ireland, and of twenty thousand bishops, deans, rectors, &c., belonging to the *Law-Church*, *not one man has been found to contradict this statement*, though all the means of contradiction, if contradiction could have been given, were ready at the hand of every one who might have chosen to look into the Parliamentary reports. There is not in this statement one single fact exaggerated in the smallest degree; it follows, in the petition, a statement of the same nature relative to the county of Kent; and I here submit it to you; I beg you to look at it patiently; and then I beg you to consider, whether it be possible for this monstrous oppression to exist in Ireland, now that the people of that country have discovered that an *organization* leads to an *imperious necessity*, and that a blessed *imperious necessity* leads to a "*relief*."

"That, however, if your petitioners
"were so unjust and barbarous as to
"find, or so cowardly as to affect to
"find, consolation from reflecting that
"their sufferings yield in point of severity to those inflicted by the same
"hand on others, they might find such
"consolation in contemplating the treatment of their unhappy fellow-subjects,
"the Catholics and Dissenters in Ireland, in which part of the kingdom all
"the abuses, above enumerated, exist in
"a degree ten-fold greater than in England; that, in that oppressed country,
"there are 3,403 parishes; that the
"tithes and glebes of all these are received by less than 350 Rectors and
"Vicars, even the livings being only
"515 in number, and that, of course,
"each Parson has on an average the

"tithes and glebes of more than nine
 "parishes; that of the 3,403 parishes,
 "there are only 139 which have par-
 "sonage-houses, and that, consequently,
 "there is but one parsonage-house to
 "every 24 parishes; and that in the
 "3,403 parishes there are only 465
 "churches, so that there is but one
 "church to seven parishes; that in this
 "state of things, the Church of England
 "people have become less and less in
 "number, until, at last, there is not
 "more than one person of that religion
 "to every six who are Catholics or Dis-
 "senter; that in many parishes there
 "are not more than five or six church-
 "men in a parish, and that, in others,
 "there are none at all; and that, yet, the
 "Catholics and Dissenters, who, while
 "they build and repair their own cha-
 "pels and support their own ministers,
 "are compelled to pay tithes exacted in
 "the most rigorous manner, to a Clergy
 "whom they seldom see, and of whom
 "they often know not the names; are
 "harassed by the tithe proctors and by
 "processes issued frequently by the
 "parsons themselves, acting as magis-
 "trates, and are, by the proctors, aided
 "by armed men, frequently stripped of
 "every thing in the world, even to their
 "last potato, and their last rag of cloth-
 "ing; so that, throughout whole dis-
 "tricts, the wretched people are, at
 "times, reduced to a state of rage, pro-
 "duced by the cravings of hunger, and
 "by feelings of revenge; that here
 "your humble petitioners find the true
 "cause of all the discontents, all the
 "violences, all the horrid acts of blood,
 "which are constantly making their ap-
 "pearance in that unhappy country;
 "here, too, your humble petitioners see
 "the cause of those laws passed of late
 "years, for transporting Irishmen be-
 "yond the seas (and that, too, without
 "Judge and Jury); for being out of their
 "houses, for any fifteen minutes at one
 "time, between sunset and sunrise;
 "and here, also, your petitioners see
 "the true cause that they themselves
 "are compelled to pay heavy taxes for
 "the support, in time of profound peace,
 "of a large standing army, for which
 "they can discover no real use other

"than that of keeping their Irish fellow-
 "subjects in this horrible state of sub-
 "jection, oppression, and degradation."

I beseech you, my LORD DUKE, to
 look at this statement well: every word
 of it is true: and do you believe that this
 state of things will continue to be borne
 any considerable time longer? You
 observed in the course of the speech on
 which I am commenting, that there
 could be *no danger to the Church of
 Ireland*, seeing that it was, by the Act
 of Union, *indissolubly connected with
 the Church of England*. Well, but
 what then? Suppose this Act to have
 any force in this respect, the Act can
 be *repealed*. We have just seen that
Acts can be repealed. There were *only
 the other day* Acts to keep Catholics
 out of both Houses of Parliament, and
 to keep them from the bench and the
 council, and all sorts of things; and now,
 to-day I imagine, or it will be to-mor-
 row or next day, these Acts are all
 swept away, and Catholics are to be let
 into Parliament, and into all the other
 places like Protestants. So that, if we
 may, and I allow we may, laugh at the
 Acts of 1688, and repeal them, or burn
 them by the hands of the common hang-
 man, if the Parliament like, surely this
 Act of Union is not like the laws of the
 MEDES and PERSIANS. One of the
 BISHOPS (the BISHOP of LLANDAFF) said,
 during the debate of the 7th of April, that
 there was "*no fear for the Irish Protes-
 tant Church, so long as the Church of
 England lasted*". The Act of Union
 "*secured this*". The English Church
 "*had, to use the words of a solemn
 ceremony, taken the Irish Church
 'for better, for worse, for richer or
 'poorer, in sickness or in health, in
 'joy or in sorrow; and thus bound,
 'they must stand or fall together.'*"
 This, too, appears to have been your
 idea; and I think that it may not happen
 to be erroneous; it is very likely that
 they will stand or fall together; but, as
 when ADAM SMITH said that the Bank
 of England *would stand as long as the
 British Government*, PAINE answered,
 "that is only saying that *one is no safer
 than the other*;" so say I in answer to

the BISHOP, relative to the union of these two churches; for there is no man of sense who will believe, that the English would survive the Irish for any length of time.

But is it to be believed that the Irish Church, furnished in the manner it is with clergymen, and conducted in the manner it is in all sorts of ways, can possibly be suffered to continue without an effort on the part of the Catholics to obtain *relief* from it? This Church, though it has *only 465 churches standing* in the country, and less than 350 rectors and vicars owners of all the livings; this Church has the singular modesty to have no less than *four Archbishops*, and *eighteen Bishops*, nine of whom have double bishopricks. *Fifteen out of the twenty-two* were, a few years ago (my Court Kalendar for Ireland is six or seven years old), *related to noble families*; actually related to them by blood; and there were *three of the Bishops belonging to the single family of BERESFORD*; WILLIAM BERESFORD, GEORGE BERESFORD, and JOHN GEORGE BERESFORD; and this JOHN GEORGE is now, it seems, the Archbishop of ARMAGH, and Primate of all Ireland! All these Bishops have immense revenues, far surpassing, on an average, those of England; immense estates in land. They have a good slice of the whole country; and as we see there is one of these immense BISHOPS to *every sixteen PARSONS*; and *one to about every twenty parish churches*! Why, my LORD DUKE, it is nonsense to suppose that this can continue for any length of time. It may not be very vigorously disturbed for a year or two, perhaps; but remain long it cannot; new *organization* will take place; new *imperious necessities* will arise; and as *civil war* is not to be thought of (indeed, I hope not!) new *reliefs* will take place as a matter of course.

PEEL has, indeed, promised, and you have promised too, that, in case the Catholics do not show their gratitude for the *generosity* which they have now experienced; or, at least, for the *relief*, as it is called, which they have received; or, not to talk of gratitude, if they do not

behave well and quietly, PEEL has said (and you have said nearly the same thing) that he shall not hesitate for a moment to *come down to the House with a Bill* to make them feel the consequence of their ungrateful behaviour! *Hub-bub-boo!* the Irish will have exclaimed when they read this, as they used to do, when Old BESS's parsons first went to read CRANMER's Prayer Book to them. *Hub-bub-boo!* "Come down with a Bill!" What does he mean? Does he mean that there is never to be another *imperious necessity* arising from another peaceable *organization*, and that this necessity is never to be yielded to again? If he do mean this, he means as the Negroes say, a devil of a falsehood; for there will be future *organizations*, and future imperious necessities; and it is the very height of folly to suppose, that the Government will not act in such new emergency as it has acted now.

Suppose a proposition were made, by any considerable number of Catholic gentlemen in Ireland; suppose petitions to be presented upon such proposition; and supposing the petitioners to pray for a repeal of the Protestant Church as by *law* established. There would be no necessity to turn to the Statute Book: all that the new law would have to do, would be to order the revenues of the Church of Ireland to be applied as in former times, or to be taken into the hands of the Government. Every soul in England as well as in Ireland, except those who are immediately interested in the receipt of the tithes and taxes, would be for this measure. There would then be no division at all amongst the people. A nasty, vermin-bitten Methodist parson would not dare to show his nose as a petitioner against such a measure; and I should be glad to know how the petition could be rejected, if all Ireland (as would soon be the case) were in an uproar on the subject. Even the fundholders would be clamorous for this measure, as they must know that it would tend to make their claim the safer. It would be impossible to silence an *organization* having such an object in view, without granting the prayer. No question but troops might

be brought to mow down the people; no question that the unarmed people would be beaten in the end; but, all the same circumstances would arise, as you have apprehended now. The people might be beaten: thousands might be killed in the field, or tens of thousands, and hundreds might die on the gallows or on the block; but, at the same time, the paper-money system would be destroyed; for, even before the troops began to march against the rebels, the rich and loyal part of the community would begin to march to the bank or banks; and the very sound of the trouble of the system in Ireland would overthrow the system in England. From such an end this system can be preserved only by a bank restriction, and even that would hardly be sufficient for the purpose. The truth is, that, as the DEBT says to the KING of England, "you shall never go to war again while I am in existence;" so it says to him, "you shall never have civil war again while I am in existence;" which is very true; for if he have it the paper system disappears. "*Paper-money is weakness in the end*," and this Government now feels this important truth. A little trifling insurrection, not sufficient to leave any *doubt* as to the issue; a rising that a regiment or two can put down at once; an unarmed mob, however large, these excite little apprehension in the holders of funds and paper-money; but, if any thing worthy of the name of *civil war* take place, funds and paper-money disappear in a moment. In the year 1745, when the debt did not exceed fifty or sixty millions, the Bank of England, though it had then no notes under *twenty pounds*, was reduced to the necessity of paying in sixpences, in order to make people wait; and this only because a handful of Scotchmen had penetrated in arms into England; had just crossed the *border*; and who were driven out, or killed in a few days after their incursion. The fund dealers *rely upon the overwhelming force of the army!* This, though they never talk about it, and perhaps seldom think about it, they *feel* to be their great reliance; and they were not backward in declaring it in 1817, 18, and 19. It was openly said

in the newspapers, that if BRANDRETH and his associates could have reached LEICESTER or NORTHAMPTON, with a body of persons about them increasing in number as they rolled on; nay, if they could have advanced to NOTTINGHAM or DERBY, a one-pound note would not have been worth a shilling.

Therefore, my LORD DUKE (and it is worthy of the deepest consideration), this is a system which demands, to give it confidence, a great permanent military force. The necessity of a great army is created by the existence of an enormous debt, and consequently of an enormous taxation: there must be no *doubtful* struggle; no struggle for one moment *doubtful*, between the Government and any part of the people: the force must be, and must be known to be, so completely overwhelming, as to leave no *hopes* for discontented persons, and no *fears* for fundholders; and if you will look at the progress, you will see that the army has gone on regularly increasing with the debt. The military force stationed in the country, has, in its increase, kept an exact pace with the increase in the amount of the taxes. God will forgive us. I dare say, for our baseness in pretending to look upon this great standing army, in time of peace, as nothing contrary to the maxims of English law: I hope he will forgive us for it; and also for our matchless ingratitude towards our catholic forefathers, whose religion we have the stupid audacity to accuse of encouraging arbitrary power, when we all know, that they would have suffered the devil himself to be stationed in England, as readily as they would have suffered a standing army of a hundred thousand men, or even of *one* thousand men.

However, here we have the true secret of the whole of the measure just adopted. It arose out of the difficulty of managing the organization in Ireland, which could have been put down in the course of a week or two, or three at the most; but these three weeks were more than the funding and paper system could endure. Some of the newspapers have hinted at, and even mentioned outright, a *defection* of a character too delicate

for me to name, when I consider the extreme *sensitiveness* of the body to which the defection is imputed. But this does but very little alter the case. It only adds a little to the dangers of civil war: only makes it more dangerous to the paper-money men, the quick-sightedness and the sensibility of which are, in such cases, truly surprising. Did you not observe, my LORD DUKE, that the people on the Stock Exchange were exceedingly alive to this question, and that their infernal concern went up when the catholic cause seemed to flourish, and down, when it was suspected that it would fail! What should these Jews and Quakers, or wretches worse than Jews, if possible; what should *they* care about *religion*; and especially why should the Christ-killing race have such a particular regard for the success of the Catholics, who have always considered them, and treated them as Dogs; who, at Rome, shut them up on Sundays, and on all feast days, that they may not scandalize Christians by their presence, and who everywhere stigmatize their calling as enormously wicked, and consider them as a band of blasphemers. Now, my LORD DUKE, what was it that could have made this horrible crew, this worst band of ruffians upon the face of the earth; what was it that could have made them the **WARMEST POSSIBLE FRIENDS TO THE CATHOLIC CAUSE!** Oh, no! my LORD DUKE, it is not true, as some persons say, that the DEVIL has become fond of holy water, or that these blaspheming wretches have become just and pious. It is that they saw, as you saw; just as you saw; their Jewish noses smelt out, that, if the Government did not give way, *there must be a civil war in Ireland*; and they saw, as you saw, that a civil war, though of ever so short a duration, would blow up the system on which they fatten. They were, therefore, all on the "*liberal*" side; all on the side of opposition to "*bigotry*;" and just the same would they be, my LORD DUKE, and just the same will they be, whenever a good loud cry shall be set up for a repeal of the Protestant Church in Ireland, for which measure many people think, and for

which I most sincerely hope, that you are fully prepared. The Irish hierarchy demands the constant presence of a great standing army, and the constant support of a numerous and most expensive GENDARMERIE, commonly called a *Police*. These cost more than the hierarchy itself; and the whole together devour the country; swallow up all those means which ought to be left amongst the people to make them happy. England, too, is burdened heavily from the same cause. And what is all this for? A hierarchy without flocks; and an army and gendarmerie to uphold that hierarchy! The thing *must* be changed. It is madness to imagine, that giving a feather to the Catholic aristocracy will make the Irish people endure this hierarchy with patience.

WM. COBBETT.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

IN answer to a gentleman, who calls upon me to fulfil my promise to publish a little book, entitled, "**ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN IN THE MIDDLE AND HIGHER RANKS OF LIFE**"; and also in answer to many other applications on the same subject, I announce, that the said work will be published in *Monthly Numbers*, beginning with the month of *June next*; that each Number will contain 30 pages, besides the outside cover, the work will be comprised in about 12 Numbers, and that the price of each Number, on fine paper and print, will be only *sixpence*. In my next I shall, if I have room, describe, in some detail, the nature of the contents.

CATALOGUE

OF

AMERICAN SEEDS,

Which are to be had at 183, Fleet Street.

THE price affixed to the name of each tree, shrub, or garden-plant, indicates the number of shillings which will be charged for a parcel of the seeds done up in a paper bag. The *quantity* in the several parcels is such as I deem

sufficient, or likely to be sufficient for any one gentleman to sow at one time. In some cases the parcels will be larger; in others smaller, according to the largeness or smallness of the seeds. In most cases, several thousand seeds of trees and shrubs will be contained in each two-shilling parcel. In some few cases I have thought it best to describe the *measure* or *weight* of the seed. In these cases the measure and weight will be adhered to, and the number of seeds disregarded; but it may be useful to notice, that a pound of Locust seed contains about twelve thousand seeds; every seed of which will grow and become a tree, if the instructions in my work called *THE WOODLANDS* are strictly followed; and thus any gentleman may have ten thousand Locust trees at least, ready to plant out next fall, for *ten shillings*. With regard to the manner of sowing and treating all the Forest trees, the instructions are given fully in *THE WOODLANDS*. With regard to the shrubs, instructions for the cultivation of them will be found in my *ENGLISH GARDENER*. I shall not, unless I receive express orders to that effect, make up for sale any boxes of these seeds; but if any gentleman choose to have the whole collection, he shall be supplied by having them sent to him, or delivered to him in a box, and the whole charge, box and all, shall be *three sovereigns* and no more.—The weather having now become open again, all orders that have been received for trees shall be executed without delay.

CATALOGUE OF SEEDS.

FOREST TREES.

1. Arbor Vitæ. (*Thuja occidentalis*).—2s.
2. Ash, White. (*Fraxinus Americana*).—5s. a quart.
3. Birch, Black. (*Betula lenta*).—2s.
4. Birch, Canoe. (*Betula papyrifera*).—2s.
5. Catalpa. (*Bignonia Catalpa*).—5s. a pint.
6. Cedar, Red. (*Juniperus Virginiana*).—2s. a pint.
7. Cherry, Wild. (*Cerasus Virginiana*).—2s. a quart.

8. Elm, Red. (*Ulmus rubra*).—5s.
9. Elm, White. (*Ulmus Americana*).—5s.
10. Hemlock. (*Abies Canadensis*).—2s.
11. Hickory Paccanuts. (*Juglans olivæformis*).—2s. a quart.
12. Hickory, shell-bark. (*Juglans squamosa*).—2s. a quart.
13. Hornbeam. (*Carpinus Americana*).—2s.
14. Larch. (*Larix*).—3s.
15. Lime. (*Tilia Americana*).—5s. a quart.
16. Locust. (*Pseudo Acasia*).—10s. a pound.
17. Locust Honey. (*Gleditsia triacanthos*).—10s. a pound.
18. Maple, Mountain. (*Acer montanum*).—2s.
19. Maple, Red. (*Acer rubrum*).—2s.
20. Maple, Sugar. (*Acer saccharinum*).—2s.
21. Maple, White. (*Acer eriocarpum*).—2s.
22. Moose Wood. (*Acer striatum*).—2s.
24. Pine Pitch. (*Pinus rigida*).—2s.
25. Plane swamp. () —2s.
26. Plane. (*Planus occidentalis*).—2s.
27. Sassafras. (*Laurus sassafras*).—5s. a pint.
28. Spruce, Black. (*Abies Nigra*).—1s.
29. Tulip-tree. (*Lyriodendrum tulipifera*).—2s. a quart.

SHRUBS.

30. Althea Frutex. (*Hibiscus Syriacus*).—5s. a quart.
31. Berry, Winter. (*Prinos verticillatus*).—2s.
32. Clethra. (*Clethra alnifolia*).—2s.
33. Dogwood. (*Cornus florida*).—2s.
34. Dogwood, blue-berried. (*Cornus sericea*).—2s.
35. Flower Trumpet. (*Bignonia radi-cans*).—2s.
36. Georgia Bark. (*Pinckneya pubescens*).—5s.
37. Grape, Chicken.—2s.
38. Grape, Fox. (*Vinus vulpina*).—2s.
39. Laurel, broad-leaved. (*Kalmia latifolia*).—2s.
40. Laurel, narrow-leaved. (*Kalmia angustifolia*).—2s.
41. Rose, dwarf bay. (*Rhododendrum maximum*).—2s.

42. Senna. (Cassia).—2s.
 43. Sorrel, box-leaved. (Andromeda calyculata).—2s.
 44. Sorrel. (Andromeda racemosa).—2s.
 45. Sumach. (Rhus Carolinianum).—2s.
 46. Tree Nettle. (Celtis occidentalis).—2s.
 47. Tree Staff. (Celastrus scandens).—2s.
 48. Viburnum, plum-leaved. (Viburnum prunifolium).—2s.
 49. Winter Green. (Prola).—2s.
 50. Wood Spice. (Caryophyllus aromaticus).—2s.

SQUASHES.

51. Crooked-neck Bush.—1s.
 52. Large Bell Winter, White.—1s.
 53. Long White Winter.—1s.
 54. Early variety of shapes and colours.—1s.

PUMPKINS.

55. White Striped Bell.—1s.
 56. Cheese Green.—1s.
 57. Quesha.—1s.
 58. Yellow Cheese.—1s.
 59. Golden.—1s.

CUCUMBERS.

60. Long Island Green.—1s.
 61. Long Island Green, Prickly.—1s.
 62. Early Connecticut.—1s.

Mangel Wurzel, 3s. per lb.

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

THE WOODLANDS:

OR,

A TREATISE

On the preparing of ground for planting; on the planting; on the cultivating; on the pruning; and on the cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods;

DESCRIBING

The usual growth and size and the uses of each sort of tree, the seed of each, the season and manner of collecting the seed, the manner of preserving and of sowing it, and also the manner of managing the young plants until fit to plant out;

THE TREES

being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin name being prefixed to the directions relative to each tree respectively.

This is a very handsome octavo book, of fine paper and print, price 14s. and it contains matter sufficient to make any man a complete tree-planter.

THE ENGLISH GARDENER; or, A Treatise on the Situation, Soil, Enclosing, and Laying-out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-Beds and Green-Houses, and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard; and also, on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers; concluding with a Calendar, giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other Labours to be performed in the Gardens in each month of the year. *Price 6s.*

AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE; or, an Account of the Manner in which the Slave Dealers take Free People from some of the United States of America, and carry them away, and sell them as Slaves in other of the States; and of the horrible Cruelties practised in the carrying on of this most infamous traffic; with Reflections on the Project for forming a Colony of American Blacks in Africa, and certain Documents respecting that Project. By JESSE TORREY, Jun. Physician. With 5 Plates. To which are added, Notes, and a Preface, by WM. COBBETT.—*Price 2s. boards.*

THE LAW OF TURNPIKES; or, an Analytical Arrangement of, and Illustrative Commentaries on, all the General Acts, relative to Turnpike Roads. By WILLIAM COBBETT, Jun., Student of Lincoln's Inn. *Price 3s. 6d. boards.*

SERMONS.—There are twelve of these, in one volume, on the following subjects:—1. Hypocrisy and Cruelty; 2. Drunkenness; 3. Bribery; 4. Oppression; 5. Unjust Judges; 6. The Sluggard; 7. The Murderer; 8. The Gamester; 9. Public Robbery; 10. The Unnatural Mother; 11. The Sin of Forbidding Marriage; 12. On the Duties of Parsons, and on the Institution and object of Tythes. These Sermons were published separately; while selling in Numbers, some of them exceeded others in point of sale; but, upon the whole, considering them as independent publications, there have been printed of them now, two hundred and eleven thousand. A new edition. *Price 3s. 6d.*

PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, The History and MYSTERY of the NATIONAL DEBT, the BANK of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper-Money. A new edition. *Price 5s.*

ENGLISH GRAMMAR; a new edition. *Price 3s.*

TULL'S FAMOUS WORK ON THE HORSE-HOEING HUSBANDRY. *In the Press,* and shortly will be Published, a *New Edition.*

1. **LETTERS FROM FRANCE;** containing Observations made in that Country during a Journey from Calais to the South, as far as Limoges; then back to Paris; and then, after a residence there of three months, from Paris through the Eastern parts of France, and through part of the Netherlands; commencing in April, and ending in December, 1824. By JOHN M. COBBETT, Student of Lincoln's Inn. Price 4s.

2. **MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE,** Second Edition, Price 2s. 6d. This Work contains a Sketch of the Face of the Country, of its Rural Economy, of the Towns and Villages, of Manufactures, and Trade, and of such of the Manners and Customs as materially differ from those of England; ALSO, an Account of the Prices of Land, House, Fuel, Food, Raiment, Labour, and other Things, in different parts of the Country; the design being to exhibit a true picture of the present State of the People of France. To which is added, a General View of the Finances of the Kingdom.

THE LANCET.

No. 294, published this day, contains:—

A LECTURE, by Dr. BLUNDELL, on Polypus of the Uterus.—Inversion.

FORENSIC MEDICINE—Case of the late Mr. Neale and Butler, the Soldier; Medico-legally considered, by Dr. J. GORDON SMITH, Professor of Med. Juris. in the University of London.

The RHUBARB HALL COMPANY—Workings of the Apothecaries' Act.

Remarkable Case of Coma.

Ossification of the Vitreous Humour.

Brande's Quarterly Journal.—Mr. Wadd—Second's Pendulum—Secret Writing—Falls of Niagara—St. Helena—Nitrogen Spring—Sulphuric Acid Spring—Gigantic Crystals—Meteoric Iron—Animals living 3000 Years—Fossil Hyænas.

On the Extraction of Teeth.

Bite of an Adder—Treatment.

Efficacy of the Ergot of Rye.

Tests of Adulterated Quinine.

Hernia.

Curious Coroner's Inquest.

Webb Street Medical School—Prize Medals.

Ergot of Rye in Protracted Labour.

London Medical Society.—Hour-Glass Contraction—Vitality of the Blood.

Westminster Medical Society.—Languor in the Society—Jaundice.—With Reports from the London and Paris Hospitals, &c. &c.

Published at 210, Strand.

THE LANCET.—The whole of the Volumes of this Work, have been just re-printed, (some of them the fourth time,) and complete sets may now be obtained, either at the Office in the Strand, or through the medium of any Bookseller in Town or Country. Gentlemen having incomplete Sets, may obtain any of the Volumes separately.

The Volumes of each Year are complete in themselves, and contain perfect Courses of Lectures. Thus, in the Volumes for

MDCCCXXXIII-IV,

will be found SIR ASTLEY COOPER'S Lectures on Surgery; together with Reviews, Hospital Reports, Foreign Medical Intelligence, Critiques on Hospital Surgeons, &c. &c. &c. Price 1l. 10s.—In those of

MDCCCXXXIV-V,

Mr. ABERNETHY'S Lectures on Surgery, Dr. ARMSTRONG'S Lectures on the Principles and Practice of Medicine, and Dr. SPURZHEIM'S Lectures on Phrenology; with Hospital Reports, Reviews, &c. &c. &c. Price 1l. 8s.—In those of

MDCCCXXXV-VI,

Mr. LAWRENCE'S Lectures on the Anatomy, Physiology, and Diseases of the Eye; Dr. CLUTTERBUCK'S Lectures on the Principles and Practice of Physic; and Mr. ALCOCK'S Lectures on some Practical Points of Surgery; with Reviews, Foreign Intelligence, Hospital Reports, &c. &c. &c. Price 1l. 17s.—Those of

MDCCCXXXVI-VII.

contain Mr. ABERNETHY'S Physiological and Pathological Observations, delivered in his Anatomical Course; Dr. CLUTTERBUCK'S Lectures on the Diseases of the Nervous System; Professor BELL'S Lectures on Surgery, delivered in the College of Surgeons; together with Hospital Reports, Critiques, &c. &c. &c. Price 1l. 17s.—And in the Volumes of the last Year, viz.

MDCCCXXXVII-VIII.

the Lectures of Dr. BLUNDELL on Midwifery, delivered at Guy's Hospital; the Lectures of Mr. BRANDE on Chemistry; and the Lectures of Dr. HASLAM on the Intellectual Composition of Man; (price 1l. 17s.;) together with Hospital Reports, Foreign Intelligence, Criticisms, and other articles, too numerous to be particularised in an Advertisement;—in a word, a Complete Set of THE LANCET may be said to form a Medical and Surgical Library.

The above Lectures, with the exception of those delivered by Mr. ABERNETHY, have been printed in this Work, with the express CONSENT of the Lecturers themselves, a large majority of whom have corrected the proof sheets. Mr. ABERNETHY SWORE to the "minute fidelity" with which his Lectures were taken, before the Lord Chancellor.

N. B.—The Lectures now in course of publication, are those of Dr. BLUNDELL on the Gravid Uterus, and on the Diseases of Women and Children.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; and published by him, at 133, Fleet street.